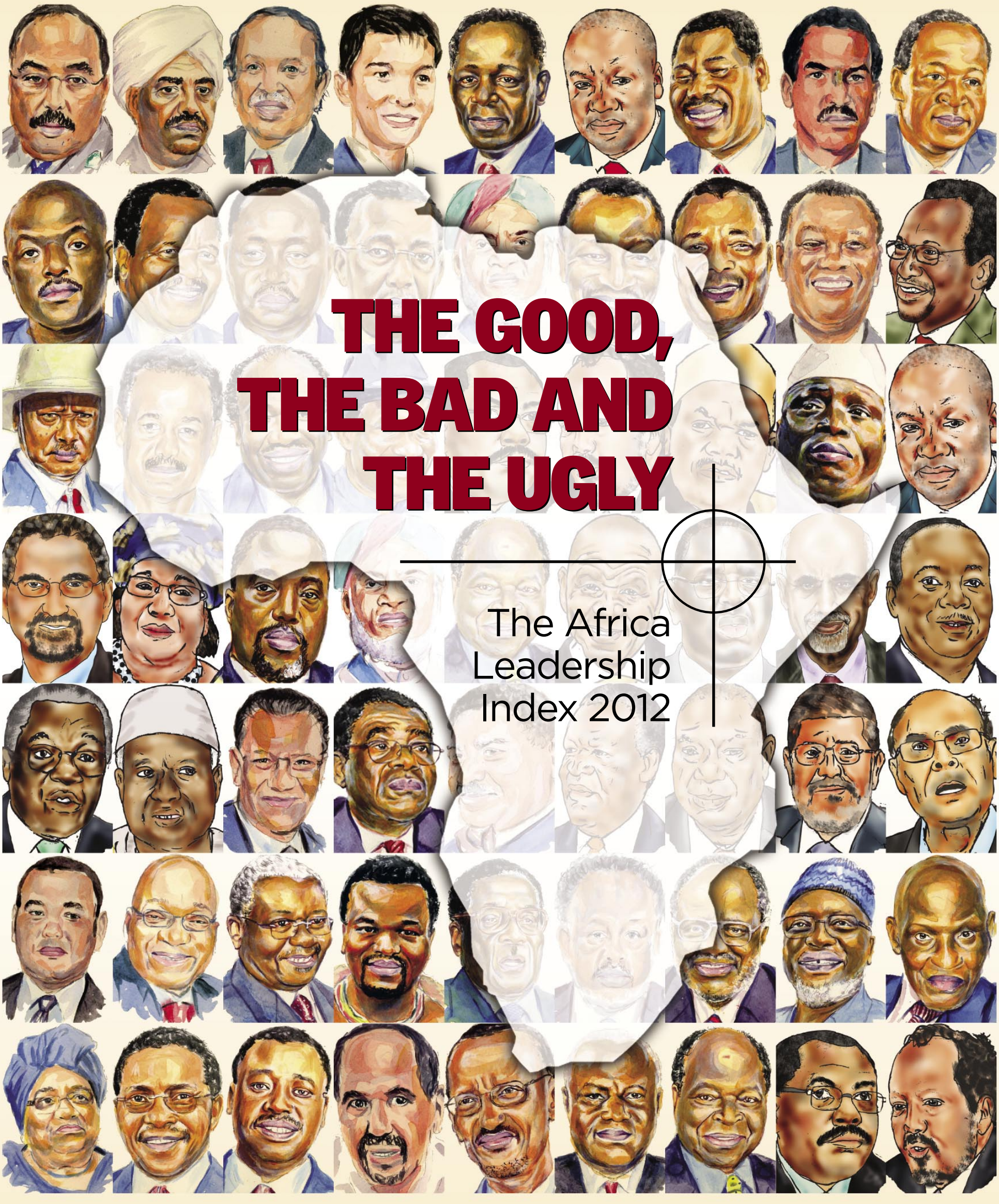
The EastAfrican

SPECIAL REPORT

JUNE 1 - 7, 2013

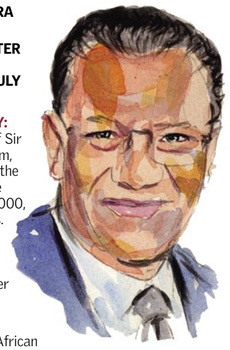


THE GOOD, THE BAD AND THE UGLY

The Africa Leadership Index 2012

The Africa Leadership Index is a tool for governance-tracking of African leaders developed by Nation Media Group's Africa Project. It is an aggregrate on all major indexes that cover Africa, plus our own (see note on methodology) led by **LYNETTE MUKAMI**. Now that all the main reports for 2012 have come out, we bring you our ranking of African leaders by governance last year, beginning with the best and running down to the worst

MAURITIUS



NAME: NAVINCHANDRA RAMGOOLAM

TITLE: PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS, SINCE JULY 5, 2005

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Ramgoolam is the son of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, known as the "Father of the Nation." Served as prime minister from 1995 to 2000, before losing at the polls. Retook the premiership in 2005 after out-campaigning Mauritian Militant Movement leader Paul Berenger.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Mauritius was the only African country to be categorised as a "true democracy" in the Economic Intelligence Unit (EIU) Democracy Index. It is also the top ranked country in the 2012 Mo Ibrahim Index. It scored favourably in corruption and human development indices.

The Mauritian government launched a healthy eating campaign following the alarming rise of obesity in children. Mauritius has the second highest diabetes prevalence in the world.

FAILURES:
The Ministry of Information and Communications Technology admitted that cyber-crime was rapidly becoming a problem.

Road carnage, too, continued to be a problem with data indicating an upsurge in road accidents from 12.8 per cent in 2010 to 15 per cent in 2011 with 1,727 deaths – a troublingly high number for a small island of 1.3 million people.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Apart from topping Africa in most indices for 2012, according to the UN Happiness Report 2012 conducted by Columbia University's Earth Institute in the USA, Mauritians are the happiest people in Africa. The index was based on the citizens' perceptions of overall service delivery in the country using indicators such as employment, equality, education, health, anti-corruption, environment, and culture.

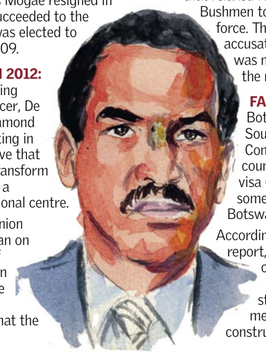
Mo Ibrahim Index: Score= 82.8 Rank=1
Democracy Index: Score= 8.04 Rank=24
Press Freedom Index: Score=29 Rank=61
Corruption Index: Score = 57 Rank = 43
Human Development Index: Score = 0.737
NMG Grade: 9/10
2012 Grade: A

BOTSWANA

NAME: SERETSE IAN KHAMA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA, SINCE APRIL 1, 2008

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A former army commander and the son of Botswana first's president, Ian Khama ascended fast in politics from minister of presidential affairs and public administration to vice president (1999), and party chairman (2003). When president Festus Mogae resigned in 2008, Khama succeeded to the presidency; he was elected to a full term in 2009.



SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The world's leading diamonds producer, De Beers, began diamond rough stone sorting in Botswana, a move that is expected to transform the country into a leading international centre.

The European Union lifted its 2011 ban on Botswana's beef products after an inspection by the EU's inspectors recommended that the country's animal disease control systems were in place.

It was reported in 2012 that Botswana attracted approximately $13.5 billion in foreign direct investment (FDI) between 2003 and 2011, placing it among the continent's top 15 destinations for foreign capital, according to data in an Ernst & Young survey.

The Botswana government gave a directive that relaxed requirements for the San Bushmen to enter the army and police force. The move came after years of accusations that the government was marginalising and undermining the minority community.

FAILURES:
Botswana refused to join other Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) member countries' push for a single tourist visa (Univisa), a move seen by some as a setback as it robbed Botswana of a lot of tourist revenue.

According to a "Childline Botswana" report, sexual exploitation of children in northern Botswana is rampant. The study reported that older men working in farms and construction sites as labourers were taking advantage of children, and asked Botswana society to pay serious attention to cross-generational sex.

Despite a strong economic record, the unemployment levels are still worrying (standing at 17.5 per cent). Also, the poverty levels are high for a middle income country, a problem complicated by severe income inequality.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
There were a few. The Botswana High Court in October overturned a customary law that prohibited women from inheriting the family home, terming the law a contravention of the Constitution that guarantees equality for both men and women.

Botswana also imposed a ban on consumption of alcohol outside the confines of bars ahead of the December festive season as part of efforts to reduce "alcohol related crimes and public disorder".

Mo Ibrahim Index: 77 (3/52)
Democracy Index: 7.63
Press Freedom Index: 40 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 65 (58/174)
Human Development Index: 0.634 (medium)
NMG Grade: 8.5/10
2012 Grade: A

CAPE VERDE

NAME: JORGE CARLOS FONSECA

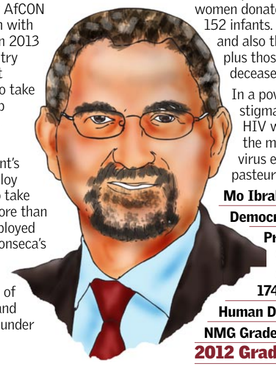
TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAPE VERDE, SINCE SEPT 9, 2011

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A lawyer and university professor who served as minister of foreign affairs from 1991 to 1993. He stood unsuccessfully as a presidential candidate in the 2001 election. In August 2011, he again sought the presidency and was successful, this time backed by the main opposition Movement for Democracy party.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Cape Verde came second in Africa in both the Global Press Freedom Index and the Democracy Index.

The Cape Verde government introduced a new feeding programme for pupils in 25 pre-schools in 2012 that saw children provided with better and diversified food to boost growth and attain higher educational standards.

The archipelago qualified for the Africa Cup of Nations (AfCON) for the very first time in October 2012 after surprisingly beating out Cameroon 3-2 in the final round qualifier. Their AfCON opening match with South Africa in 2013 marked the entry of the smallest country ever to take part in the Cup championship.



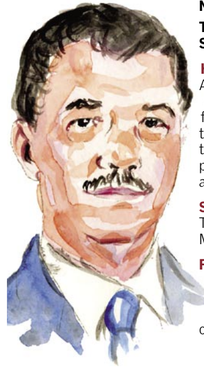
FAILURES:
The government's efforts to employ youth failed to take effect, with more than 45,000 unemployed youths. Also Fonseca's programme for the modernisation of the economy and of the state is under pressure.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
During 2012's International Breastfeeding Week, up to 200 lactating Cape Verdean women donated breast milk to feed up to 152 infants. Infants of up to six months and also those born with a disability, plus those whose mothers were deceased were the focus of the week.

In a powerful gesture against stigmatisation, women living with HIV were allowed to donate since the milk would be boiled and the virus eliminated once the milk was pasteurised.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 78 (2/52)
Democracy Index: 7.92
Press Freedom Index: 27 (free)
Corruption Index: 60 (39/174)
Human Development Index: 0.586
NMG Grade: 7.5/10
2012 Grade: B+

SEYCHELLES



NAME: JAMES ALIX MICHEL

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SEYCHELLES, SINCE APRIL 14, 2004

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A former teacher and army colonel, Michel became active in politics in 1974. He served alongside former president France-Albert René after he came to power in a bloodless coup in 1977 that secured the island's Independence. Was country's vice president from 1996 to 2004, then succeeded René as president.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The island came in 4th out of 52 countries in the Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance.

FAILURES:
Piracy has been a big headache for Michel this year. It is estimated to have cost the nation $17 million, but that doesn't include the added cost of patrols within its territorial waters. Fisheries is a major sector and employer in Seychelles and pirate attacks on local and foreign fishing vessels is said to have cost at least $4 million this year.

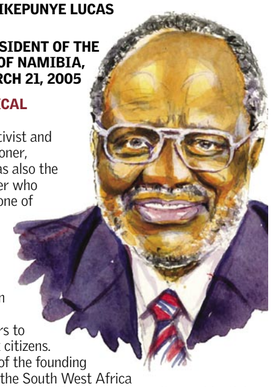
MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
In December Michel sent letters to world leaders telling them that there is a "silver bullet" to put an end to the scourge of piracy, especially in the Indian Ocean. He urged 25 world leaders and organisations such as the European Union, UN and NATO to act without delay with an intervention in Somalia.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 73 (4/52)
Democracy Index: n/a
Press Freedom Index: 56 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 52 (51/174)
Human Development Index: 0.806
NMG Grade: 9/10
2012 Grade: B

NAMIBIA

NAME: HIFIKEPUNYE LUCAS POHAMBA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA, SINCE MARCH 21, 2005



HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A former activist and political prisoner, Pohamba was also the lands minister who speeded up one of Namibia's most difficult schemes — the expropriation of land from white farmers to give to black citizens. He was one of the founding members of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) and was its presidential candidate in 2004. He won in what was described as a landslide.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Namibia's Marine Resources Act of 2000 won the 2012 Future Policy Award silver during a ceremony held in New York on September 26, 2012. The law regulates all marine capture, setting restrictions for the fishing gear, the times and depth of fishing and even places catch limits for the eight main commercial species annually.

Namibia's Supreme Court dismissed an application by nine opposition parties contesting 2009 parliamentary election results, which gave Pohamba's party a landslide victory. In 2009, the ruling Swapo won over 75 per cent of the votes.

FAILURES:
Three HIV- positive women went to court claiming that they had been forcibly sterilised by the state while seeking medical attention during delivery. The government denied giving a directive to hospitals to sterilise HIV-positive women. The court however ruled in favour of the women.

In September, Canada announced that Namibian passport holders would be required to apply for visas before entry into its territory, saying that it had a visa violation rate of over 30 per cent. Namibia also had a very high number of asylum seekers, hence the enforcement of the measure. About 71 per cent of Namibians who entered Canada in 2011 reportedly claimed refugee status.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Pohamba surprised many when he hosted an early Christmas party for the San people of Cheto, near Katima Mulilo. It was a rare event especially for relatively underdeveloped area inhabited by the San community.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 69.7 (6/53)
Democracy Index: 6.23
Press Freedom Index: 34 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 4.4 (56/183)
Human Development Index: 0.608 (medium)
NMG Grade: 7.5/10
2012 Grade: B

> **"Africa's retreat from socialist economic models has generally made everyone better off. Some countries, such as Ethiopia and Rwanda, still put the state in the lead. Others, such as Kenya and Nigeria, have empowered private business by removing red tape. Yet others are benefiting from a commodities boom, driven by increased demand from China, which has become Africa's biggest trading partner."**
>
> *The Economist*

GHANA

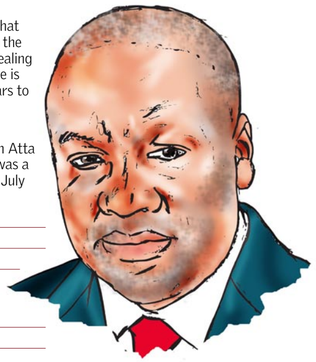
NAME: JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA, SINCE JULY 24, 2012 FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF JOHN ATTA MILLS.

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A communications expert, historian, and writer, Mahama was a Member of Parliament from 1997 to 2009 and minister of communications from 1998 to 2001. He was vice president from 2009- July 2012, when he took office as president following the death of his predecessor, John Atta Mills.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
John Dramani Mahama was declared winner of the December election with 50.7 per cent of the vote, against opposition leader Nana Akufo-Addo with 47.74 per cent.

FAILURES:
Ghana's opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) contested the election results, saying that it has concrete evidence that its candidate, Nana Akufo-Addo, won the election. It also alleged systematic stealing of votes at the collation level. The case is still in court and may take several years to conclude.



MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
The passing of the late president John Atta Mills shortly after his 68th birthday was a sad event for the country. He died on July 24, 2012 a few hours after falling ill.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 66.3 (7/52)
Democracy Index: 6.02
Press Freedom Index: 28 (Free)
Corruption Index: 45 (64/174)
Human Development Index: 0.558
NMG Grade: 7/10
2012 Grade: B

SOUTH AFRICA

NAME: JACOB GEDLEYIHLEKISA ZUMA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, SINCE MAY 9, 2009



HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A shrewd political operator, and sterling intelligence officer for the African National Congress during the struggle, Zuma has had no formal schooling, became involved in politics at an early age and has served a 10-year-jail sentence for "conspiring to overthrow the apartheid government." In 2005, he was relieved of his duties as deputy president by Thabo Mbeki, in the wake of corruption allegations. Was elected president of the African National Congress in 2007 after the ouster of Thabo Mbeki, and went on to win the 2009 presidential elections.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Despite having a controversial term in office and vocal opposition from expelled ANC youth leader Julius Malema, Zuma still managed to survive the ANC vote to remain at the helm of the party.

FAILURES:
At least 34 striking miners were killed in violence at the Lonmin platinum mines in August. South African police opened fire on a group of striking miners at the mine in Marikana, prompting President Zuma to declare a week of national mourning.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Brett Murray, a painter, stirred controversy when he unveiled a painting titled "The Spear" depicting President Zuma with his genitals hanging out. ANC went to court over the matter, saying that the painting was rude and an abuse of freedom of artistic expression.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 71 (5/52)
Democracy Index: 7.79
Press Freedom Index: 34 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 43 (69/174)
Human Development Index: 0.629 (medium)
NMG Grade: 6/10
2012 Grade: B

TUNISIA

NAME: MONCEF MARZOUKI

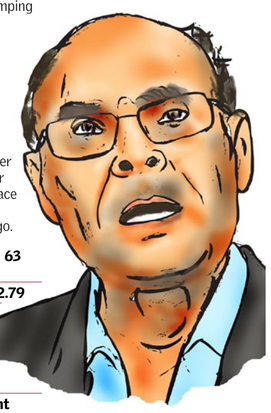
TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE TUNISIAN REPUBLIC, SINCE DECEMBER 13, 2011

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Marzouki is a well-known Tunisian activist. He studied medicine in France before returning to Tunisia, where he founded the Centre for Community Medicine in Sousse and the African Network for Prevention of Child Abuse, and also joined the Tunisian League for Human Rights. Following the "Arab Spring" that ousted former president Ben Ali, on 12 December 2011, he was elected interim president of Tunisia by the Constituent Assembly.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
President Marzouki was named among the world's top thinkers by *Foreign Policy* magazine in 2012, coming in second place.

FAILURES:
2012 was marred by a number of protests and a series of attacks by radical Islamists, which heightened security fears. Authorities vowed to crack down on Islamist violence in the wake of a Salafist-led attack on the US embassy in September in which four assailants were killed.

Media freedom took a blow when TV boss Sami Fehri accused the Tunisian government of attempting to muzzle him in retaliation for his satirical puppet show. The government was similarly accused by journalists and media figures of clamping down on freedom of expression.



MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Protestors in December hurled rocks at President Marzouki and parliamentary Speaker Mustapha Ben Jaafar in Sidi Bouzid, the place where the revolution erupted two years ago.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 63 (rank 8/52)
Democracy Index: 2.79
Press Freedom Index: 51 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 41 (75/174)
Human Development Index: 0.712
NMG Grade: 6/10
2012 Grade: C+

TANZANIA

NAME: JAKAYA KIKWETE

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, SINCE DECEMBER 21, 2005

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A military officer who rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, he was intelligence chief before turning to politics. Served as Tanzania's foreign minister from 1995 to 2005, when he won the presidency as a candidate of the long-ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM or Party of Revolution). Has won accolades (and development dollars) from abroad for investing in education. Played a last-minute but critical role in helping Kenya return to peace after the 2008 post-election violence by mediating between competing factions.



SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Following earlier natural gas deposit discoveries, Tanzania discovered some eight trillion cubic feet of offshore gas fields in Songo Songo, Mnazi Bay, Mkuranga Kisiwani North and Ntorya areas, fuelling hopes that Tanzania could become a giant gas producer.

In 2012, Tanzania migrated from analog to digital TV broadcasting in line with the December 31, 2012 deadline it had set. The city of Dar es Salaam was the first to go digital with the rest of the country expected to follow.

FAILURES:
President Kikwete's approval rating is said to have dropped by 19 points in the past 4 years, according to a survey conducted by Policy Research for Development, due to increasing reports of high level corruption in his government.

According to a Transparency International survey, Tanzanian transport authorities took the highest amount in bribes within the East African bloc with the figure at $12,640, greatly hampering movement of goods and inter-regional trade.

The Tanzanian public was horrified by the continuing decline in education, with over 60 per cent of students sitting for secondary school final examinations failing.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
2012 was punctuated by a border dispute with southern neighbour Malawi over Lake Malawi. The dispute first came up in the 1960s but resurfaced last year when Malawi gave a British firm, Surestream, exploration rights for oil in the lake.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 59 (10/52)
Democracy Index: 5.64
Press Freedom Index: 49 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 35 (102/174)
Human Development Index: 0.476
NMG Grade: 6.5/10
2012 Grade: C

SENEGAL

NAME: MACKY SALL

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL, SINCE APRIL 2, 2012

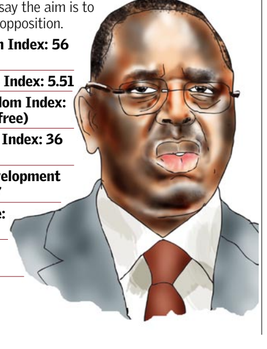
HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Sall is a geological engineer by profession. He was the prime minister of Senegal between April 2004 and June 2007, after which he became president of the National Assembly till November 2008.

He disappeared from the limelight after a falling out with the then president Abdoulaye Wade after summoning the first son to parliament to answer questions on graft.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Sall won the presidential election after beating his predecessor Wade, who was seeking a controversial third term in office. He lost the first round with 26.6 per cent to Wade's 34 per cent, but garnered 65 per cent in the run-off. After taking office, President Sall exempted 3,000 Guinean university students from paying a non-resident fee.

FAILURES:
Though President Sall has introduced reforms in various sectors of the Senegalese economy and promised a "government of the people," one of his failures, which he inherited from his predecessors, is Casamance, the southern region that has had a long standing insurgency aimed at seceding from the West African nation.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
MPs abolished the upper house, the Senate, and the post of vice president in an effort to save money for flood relief and disaster management. Houses had been destroyed and people across the country displaced after several months of heavy rain. Critics say the aim is to weaken the opposition.



Mo Ibrahim Index: 56 (16/52)
Democracy Index: 5.51
Press Freedom Index: 55 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 36 (94/174)
Human Development Index: 0.47
NMG Grade: 7/10
2012 Grade: C

MOROCCO

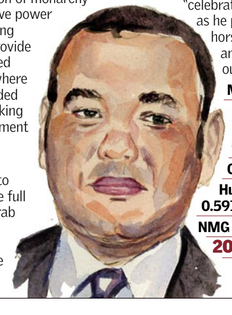
NAME: MOHAMMED VI

TITLE: KING OF THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO, SINCE JULY 30, 1999

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Groomed for "kingship," as his late father King Hassan II referred to his upbringing, Mohammed VI became monarch in 1999. Mohammed is estimated by *Forbes* to be worth $2 billion, and the Moroccan royal family has one of the largest fortunes in the world.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
King Mohamed bowed to the pressure of protesting civil society, making a break with the notion of monarchy as an executive power and introducing reforms to provide for a "balanced monarchy", where power is divided between the king and a government based on parliament.

He was able to withstand the full tide of the Arab Spring and continues to reign over the kingdom.



FAILURES:
Youth unemployment remains high, with the World Bank's regional vice president putting it at 30 per cent, saying it was "very serious."

The Moroccan government was accused of systemic human rights abuses in the Western Sahara. In August, members of rights group Robert F. Kennedy Partners for Human Rights reportedly witnessed the Moroccan police beating a female protester, who was badly injured.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
In August, Moroccan government officials were required to bow before the king as a show of allegiance at an annual "celebration of loyalty." All this was done as he paraded round the palace on horseback with the officials bowing and chanting, "May God protect our King."

Mo Ibrahim Index: 57 (15/52)
Democracy Index: 3.83
Press Freedom Index: 68 (not free)
Corruption Index: 37 (88/174)
Human Development Index: 0.591 (medium)
NMG Grade: 7/10
2012 Grade: C

LESOTHO

NAME: THOMAS MOTSOAHAE THABANE

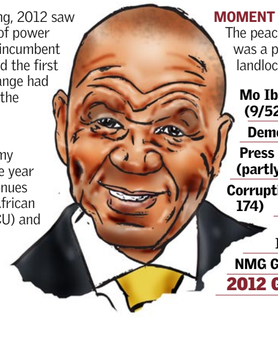
TITLE: PRIME MINISTER OF THE KINGDOM OF LESOTHO, SINCE JUNE 8, 2012

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
He served in former prime minister Pakalitha Mosisili's government for eight years but broke off to form his own party, the All Basotho Convention and became an active member of the opposition.

In the 2012 elections, he formed a coalition with other opposition parties and managed to oust former prime minister Mosisili, and was subsequently appointed prime minister.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Unlike the 1998 elections that were marred by post-poll wrangling, 2012 saw a smooth transition of power from PM Mosisili to incumbent Thabane. This marked the first time that regime change had taken place through the ballot box.

FAILURES:
The country's economy took a hit early in the year due to declining revenues from the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and reduced remittances from its migrant nationals in South Africa.



MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
The peaceful handover of power was a proud moment for the landlocked country.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 61 (9/52)
Democracy Index: 6.33
Press Freedom Index: 49 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 45 (64/174)
Human Development Index: 0.461 (low)
NMG Grade: 5.5/10
2012 Grade: C

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE



NAME: MANUEL PINTO DA COSTA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE, SINCE SEPTEMBER 3, 2011

HIS POLITICAL HISTORY:
Mr Pinto da Costa is an economist and politician who served as the first President of São Tomé and Príncipe from 1975 to 1991. He ruled with an iron fist and observers warned that his return to power in 2011 could herald a slide towards authoritarianism.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The country joined the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), the political risk insurance arm of the World Bank Group in December. Its membership makes it eligible for the agency's political risk insurance.

FAILURES:
On November 21, opposition parties tabled a motion to censure Prime Minister Patrice Emery Trovoada's government that was approved by the National Assembly. The basis of the censure included "corruption and overseas negotiations with private companies that were deemed not transparent."

The archipelago's airline still remains blacklisted and cannot operate in the European Union.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
The government suffered a censure motion in November. Despite consultations between President da Costa and the opposition, no headway was made and the president formally disbanded the 14th government headed by Prime Minister Patrice Trovoada.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 58 (11/52)
Democracy Index: n/a
Press Freedom Index: 29 (free)
Corruption Index: 42 (72/174)
Human Development Index: 0.525
NMG Grade: 7/10
2012 Grade: Incomplete —leaning E.

BENIN

NAME: THOMAS BONI YAYI

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BENIN, SINCE APRIL 6, 2006

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
An international banker who holds a PhD in economics, Boni was a senior officer in the Central Bank of West African States before working on the staff of former Beninese president Nicephore Soglo, running banking and monetary policy. He then moved on to become president of the West African Development Bank (BOAD). Took power following a tough election race in 2006, and survived an assassination attempt in 2007. A convert from Islam to Christianity.



SUCCESSES IN 2012:
President Thomas Boni Yayi was elected the African Union Chairman in January 2012, taking over for a year from Equatorial Guinea's President Teodoro Obiang Nguema, and beating Nigeria's President Goodluck Jonathan who had also vied for the post.

FAILURES:
The National Union of Magistrates went on strike for 72 hours after the Minister of Justice alluded to the fact that they were corrupt, while quoting a 2007 report on governance and corruption in the West African nation. The report said more than half the country's population did not have faith in the legal system.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
President Yayi's niece, his personal doctor and an ex-minister of commerce were charged with an attempt to assassinate Yayi. The three were apparently paid by a former ally of the president to substitute the president's medicine with a toxic substance.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 58 (13/52)
Democracy Index: 6.06
Press Freedom Index: 34 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 36 (94/174)
Human Development Index: 0.436
NMG Grade: 5/10
2012 Grade: D+

ZAMBIA

NAME: MICHAEL SATA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA, SINCE SEPTEMBER 23, 2011

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Michael Sata, popularly known as "King Cobra," was a key opposition figure in Zambia for 10 years. He leads the Patriotic Front (PF), and is known for his populist ideas. This was his fourth try at the presidency, and he finally won.

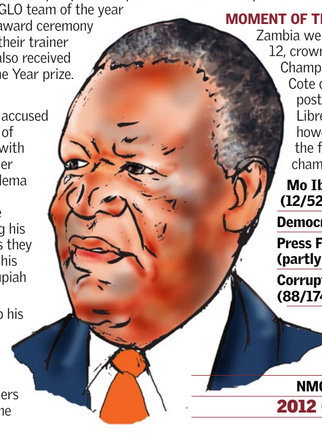
He is also well-known as former governor of the capital Lusaka. He was described as being a "hands-on" man; cleaning the streets, patching up roads and building bridges in the city.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Zambia launched its first $750 million bond issue at Deutsche Bank's Fixed Income Trading Floor on Wall Street in New York on September 13. According to Finance Minister Alexander Chikwanda, the bond attracted a $12 billion subscription from investors, and was 24 times oversubscribed.

2012 was a good year for Zambian football. The country's team Chipolopolo scooped the 2012 CAF GLO team of the year award. At the award ceremony held in Ghana, their trainer Herve Renard also received the Coach of the Year prize.

FAILURES:
The opposition accused President Sata of "dictatorship"; with opposition leader Hakainde Hichilema claiming that Zambians were suffering during his rule as much as they suffered under his predecessor Rupiah Banda.

Sata didn't help his reputation much, either; he has had a couple of opposition leaders arrested since he came into power in 2011.



MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Zambia were on February 12, crowned 2012 Africa Champions after edging Cote d'Ivoire 8-7 on post-match penalties in Libreville, Gabon. They however failed to repeat the feat in the 2013 CAF championship.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 57.0 (12/52)
Democracy Index: 6.19
Press Freedom Index: 60 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 37 (88/174)
Human Development Index: 0.448 (low)
NMG Grade: 5.5/10
2012 Grade: D+

ALGERIA

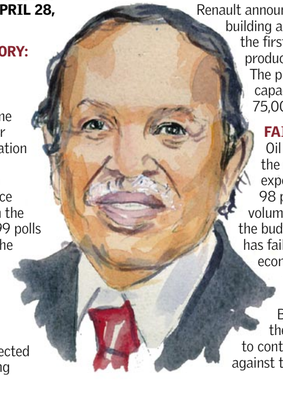
NAME: ABDELAZIZ BOUTEFLIKA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA, SINCE APRIL 28, 1999

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Was involved with Algeria's liberation struggle as a from a young age and became an influential member of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN). He became a minister in the post-Independence government and won the presidency in the 1999 polls with the backing of the army.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The 2012 legislative elections saw a high number of women elected into parliament, taking almost a third of the seats (143 of the 462 seats). This made Algeria's parliament the most gender balanced in North Africa.

Renault announced that it would be building a factory in Algeria, the first carmaker to set up production in the country. The plant will have the capacity to produce 75,000 cars a year.



FAILURES:
Oil and gas remain the main commodity exports, accounting for 98 per cent of export by volume and 70 per cent of the budget. The government has failed to diversify the economy in this respect.

Thousands demanded iron-fisted Bouteflika's exit, and the government battled to contain popular protests against the lack of freedoms, high unemployment and corruption in the country. Bouteflika promised reforms to strengthen democracy but he did not give an indication of when these would happen. Delays have been blamed on the continuing emergency that was been enforced after the cancelled 1991 elections.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
France, through French President François Hollande, recognised the French government's role in the deaths of scores of Algerians calling for an end to French colonialism in Paris in 1961. He fell short of an apology, saying only that he "recognised the suffering" French colonialism had caused.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 53 (rank 24/52)
Democracy Index: 3.44
Press Freedom Index: 62 (not free)
Corruption Index: 34 (105/174)
Human Development Index: 0.713
NMG Grade: 5/10
2012 Grade: D+

RWANDA



NAME: PAUL KAGAME

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA, SINCE APRIL 22, 2000

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Paul Kagame fled an ethnic massacre in Rwanda at the age of two in 1959, moving with many fellow Tutsis to the Gahunge refugee camp in Uganda. Began his military service at age 20, fighting with Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army. Led the Rwanda Patriotic Army/Front to victory in 1994, following a genocide engineered by extremists, the government and the army, that left nearly one million people dead. Was named vice president and defence minister in the Cabinet of president Pasteur Bizimungu. Took power when Bizimungu was deposed in 2000. Won landslide electoral victories in 2003 and 2010, securing over 93 per cent of votes on both occasions.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Kagame continued to try to make Rwanda attractive for foreign investors. That was helped along by a law that gave investors doing business in Rwanda and employing more than 200 Rwandan workers a five per cent tax reduction on their profits.

The World Bank's *Doing Business 2012 Report* named Rwanda the third easiest place to do business in sub-Saharan Africa, in part due to the government's commitment to private sector development and the continued implementation of structural and institutional reforms.

FAILURES:
A confidential United Nations report leaked to the media in 2012 alleged that the Rwanda government was involved in the conflict in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo and that it was backing the M23 rebel group. It specifically implicated defence chief Gen James Kabarebe, although the government has dismissed the allegations.

Consequently, Britain, the US, the Netherlands and Germany, among other donors, suspended aid to Kigali.

The jailing of opposition politician Victoire Umuhoza Ingabire fed into criticism that the Rwandan government is continuing to stifle democracy.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Despite the negative press Rwanda received for its alleged backing of the M23 rebels, it still went on in late 2012 to win the UN Security Council seat for the term 2013-14. The country, which enjoyed the unanimous backing of the African Union, last served on the Security Council in 1993-94 a period during which it suffered the infamous genocide.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 53 (23/52)
Democracy Index: 3.25
Press Freedom Index: 82 (not free)
Corruption Index: 53 (50/174)
Human Development Index: 0.434
NMG Grade: 6.5/10
2012 Grade: D+

KENYA

NAME: MWAI KIBAKI

TITLE: PRESIDENT AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA, SINCE DECEMBER 30, 2002



HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Kibaki is a veteran politician who helped push for Kenya's Independence in the 1960s, and has since served as minister of finance, home affairs, and health. Spent 10 years as vice president to former president Daniel arap Moi before going into opposition. Came to power in 2002 in free and fair elections. The laidback leader and conservative economist was accused by Kenyan and international observers of rigging the 2007 elections, robbing rival Raila Odinga of the presidency. The flawed elections caused the country to erupt in ethnic violence, which ended when a power-sharing deal was struck.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
There was a concerted effort to clean up the Kenya judiciary. The vetting of magistrates and judges by the Judges and Magistrates Vetting Board commenced in 2012, and was seen as a step forward as the public had over time lost faith in the judiciary over corruption. The clean-up saw a number of senior judges declared unfit to serve in the Judiciary.

The December 2012 issue of the World Bank's *Kenya Economic Update* was optimistic about Kenya, and projected that it has the capacity to achieve 5 per cent economic growth rate in 2013 if the elections went well and there was a smooth transfer of power to a new administration.

The $24 billion Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia Transport Corridor (Lapsset) project was launched in February by President Kibaki along with his South Sudanese and Ethiopian counterparts, Salva Kiir and the late Meles Zenawi respectively. The project is expected to take four years to complete and it is set to attract international investment.

Kenya troops in southern Somalia, part of the Africa peacekeeping force Amisom, led the capture of the strategic port city of Kismayu from Al Shabaab militants, thus dealing them a decisive blow.

Kenya clearly emerged as one of the innovators in new technology in Africa.

FAILURES:
Internal security remained vulnerable in 2012 in most part due to sporadic terror attacks, some connected to Al Shabaab. Incidents included hurling of grenades and other explosives in parts of Nairobi and North Eastern Province that killed at least two dozen people and injured hundreds.

There was widespread dissatisfaction among civil servants, which manifested itself in numerous public protests. There were strikes by teachers, public university staff, ferry workers, doctors and public service vehicles operators.

Youth unemployment remained high, at over 60 per cent.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Kenya Defence Forces, Amisom (AU Mission in Somalia) forces and Somali National Army took control of the Al Shabaab controlled port, Kismayu, in late September. The city was the last remaining stronghold of the Al Qaeda-allied Islamic militants

Mo Ibrahim Index: 53 (25/52)
Democracy Index: 4.71
Press Freedom Index: 52 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 27 (139/174)
Human Development Index: 0.519
NMG Grade: 5.5/10
2012 Grade: D

COMOROS

NAME: IKILILOU DHOININE

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE UNION OF THE COMOROS, SINCE MAY 26, 2011

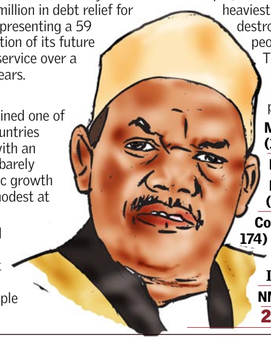
HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A pharmacist by training and previously a vice-president of Comoros, Dhoinine is the first president from the island of Moheli, an opposition stronghold whose residents have complained of exclusion. Dhoinine served for five years as deputy to outgoing president Ahmed Abdallah Mohamed Sambi and was his chosen candidate in the December 2010 poll, which he won with 61 per cent of the vote.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
In March, Comoros awarded its first ever oil production and exploration licence to a Kenyan-based company, marking the country's first steps in developing its exploration strategy.

The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank announced they would support $176 million in debt relief for the country, representing a 59 per cent reduction of its future external debt service over a period of 40 years.

FAILURES:
Comoros remained one of the poorest countries in the world, with an economy that barely grew. Economic growth in 2012 was modest at best.

This translated into a high unemployment rate, with 1 in 2 young people being jobless.



MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
In April, the country was wracked by the heaviest rains it had had in decades, destroying crops and displacing people from their homes. The five- day downpour exacerbated the already critical food security problem facing the country.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 48 (31/52)
Democracy Index: 3.52
Press Freedom Index: 48 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 28 (133/174)
HUMAN Development INDEX: 0.429
NMG Grade: 6/10
2012 Grade: D

UGANDA

NAME: YOWERI KAGUTA MUSEVENI

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF UGANDA, SINCE JANUARY 26, 1986

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Long-time ruler and veteran guerrilla commander. Began his career as an intelligence officer in 1970, but soon became a guerrilla fighter, fighting to depose the tyrant Idi Amin from 1972 to 1979. Museveni continued to fight in a rebellion to depose Milton Obote — the first leader elected after Amin in flawed polls in 1980. In 1986, Museveni seized power. He won the elections in 1996, 2001 and 2006, the latter two being widely criticised as rigged. Has removed presidential term limits to hold on to power. An early reformist who turned the once-war wracked country around, he was deeply involved in the First and Second Congo Wars.



SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Uganda held its Golden Jubilee celebrations in Kampala in 2012 — to celebrate 50 years of Independence from the British.

Ugandan oil prospects became brighter after an additional one billion barrels of oil were discovered in late 2012, pushing the figures of commercially viable deposits to at least 3.5 billion barrels.

Uganda continued to play a leading role in Somalia peacekeeping, vowing to defeat Islamist Al-Shabaab rebels.

FAILURES:
2012 was an embarrassing year for Museveni's government. A scandal where $18.8 million worth of donor aid was stolen from the Office of the Prime Minister dominated the headlines. Consequently, theEU, the United Kingdom, the World Bank, Austria and other countries suspended up to $300 million promised in budgetary support each year, up to 2013.

The budget cuts are expected to slow down economic growth as the donor funds support 25 per cent of the 2012/2013 budget.

Uganda also came under fire after it was named along with Rwanda in a UN report leaked to Reuters, as being involved in fuelling the conflict in eastern DRC.

Museveni spent most of the year fighting off a gathering storm over his succession, and in May a remarkably brutal attack on opposition leader Dr Kizza Besigye, captured by cameras, shocked the world.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
In December, attempts by the Uganda Young Democrats , an activist group, to hold a birthday party at Nyendo Taxi Park to celebrate President Museveni's 75th birthday were thwarted. Police moved in 20 minutes after the celebrations began and fired tear gas to disperse the group. The group claims Museveni has shaved some years off his actual birthday.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 55 (19/52)
Democracy Index: 5.13
Press Freedom Index: 57 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 29 (130/174)
Human Development Index: 0.456
NMG Grade: 5/10
2012 Grade: D

LIBERIA

NAME: ELLEN JOHNSON-SIRLEAF

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, SINCE JANUARY 16, 2006; RE-ELECTED IN NOVEMBER, 2011

HER POLITICAL STORY:
Known in Liberia as the "Iron Lady," Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf is currently serving her second term as head of state after winning the 2011 election. Educated at Harvard University's prestigious Kennedy School of Government, she served in Liberia's Cabinet in the 1970s. She first ran in the 1997 presidential elections but lost to Charles Taylor, before winning the 2006 vote.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
She suspended the forestry chief and launched a probe into recent timber deals amid concerns of widespread fraud. After reviewing the iron and export mining policy, the export mark crossed well over four million tonnes.

India honoured President Sirleaf with the 2012 Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development in November "for serving as an example and an inspiration to many a woman in Africa and beyond..."

The country moved up 16 points in Transparency International's 2012 Corruption Perceptions Index from 91st to 75th position, making it the third least corrupt country in West Africa.



FAILURES:
Sirleaf was criticised by her co-laureate Leymah Gbowee for failing to fight graft and nepotism. Ms Gbowee said she felt guilty for not speaking out earlier and also announced she was stepping down as the head of Liberia's Reconciliation Commission because it was not making progress.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Amid claims of nepotism, President Silrleaf suspended her son Charles Sirleaf, the deputy governor of the Central Bank, among other government officials, for failing to publicly declare their assets.

Soccer legend and former world best player George Weah was appointed a peace ambassador by President Sirleaf in December.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 47 (34/52)
Democracy Index: 5.07
Press Freedom Index: 60 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 41 (75/174)
Human Development Index: 0.388
NMG Grade: 5/10
2012 Grade: F+

MALAWI

NAME: JOYCE BANDA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALAWI, SINCE APRIL 7, 2012

HER POLITICAL STORY:
She had served in her predecessor Bingu wa Mutharika's government and had been vice-president between May 2009 and April 2012. She took over in 2012 following his sudden death after a heart attack.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The year was peppered with an acrimonius exchange between Malawi and Tanzania over a border dispute on Lake Malawi. President Banda however made it clear that Malawi would not be going to war over the dispute but would instead take the diplomatic route.



Banda also managed to restore diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom late in the year. Relations between the two countries had soured following a falling out between late president Mutharika and then UK High Commissioner to Malawi, Fegus Cochrane Dyet.

President Banda and her deputy Khumbo Kachale took a salary cut to support the government's new austerity measures on its path to economic recovery.

FAILURES:
Banda was criticised by legislators for her frequent local and international travel which they claimed was straining the country's economy. Banda, however, was seemingly unfazed and continued to schedule more meetings to "distribute food."

Malawi's Cabinet decided not to host the Africa Union Summit in July 2012, a decision that had vast financial ramifications for Malawi's small and medium sized businesses that were banking on the event. The decision was based on the government's refusal to host Sudan's President Omar al Bashir who is wanted by the International Criminal Court.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
On New Year's Eve, President Banda went live on radio to take telephone calls from ordinary Malawians hoping to clarify issues that were concerning them.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 56 (17/52)
Democracy Index: 5.84
Press Freedom Index: 60 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 37 (88/174)
Human Development Index: 0.418 (low)
NMG Grade: 4.5/10
2012 Grade: F+

GABON

NAME: ALI BEN BONGO ONDIMBA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE GABON REPUBLIC, SINCE OCTOBER 16, 2009

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Another heir, Ali Ben Bongo Ondimba is the son of Omar Bongo, who ruled Gabon from 1967 until his death in 2009. Served as minister of defence and foreign affairs under his father. Won elections that were rejected by the opposition in 2009.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
President Bongo set fire to nearly five tonnes of illegal ivory worth an estimated $9.3 million on June in Libreville, a move meant to send a strong signal to poachers and traders of ivory.

Gabon won its first ever Olympic medal at the 2012 Olympics held in London. Anthony Obame made history when he won a silver medal in the men's over 80 kg taekwondo final.

FAILURES:
The main opposition party, National Union (UN), claimed that its television station TV+ was torched after violent clashes between its supporters and the police. They claimed the incident underscored the government's intolerance of opposition.

Gabon was stripped of a World Cup draw in December in favour of Niger after the country fielded an ineligible player.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
In a bid to boost the use of the English language in the former French colony, President Bongo said he wanted the country to become bilingual. He even made a trip to Rwanda to "closely examine the country's experience with the introduction of bilingualism," an interesting development given that France is one of Gabon's closest allies.



Mo Ibrahim Index: 54 (22/52)
Democracy Index: 3.48
Press Freedom Index: 70 (not free)
Corruption Index: 35 (102/174)
Human Development Index: 0.683 (medium)
NMG Grade: 4/10
2012 Grade: F

NIGERIA

NAME: GOODLUCK JONATHAN

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA, SINCE MAY 6, 2010, ACTING SINCE FEB 9, 2010

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Jonathan was handpicked by former president Umaru Yar'Adua to be vice-president, and succeeded him in February 2010 when Yar'Adua died. He was formally elected in April 2011.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The government launched a plan at the end of the year to provide 10 million farmers in the country with free mobile handsets to enable them to improve their agricultural practices.

FAILURES:
The militant Boko Haram sect, considered by authorities to be a terrorist group, continued to wreak havoc in Nigeria - bombing churches, killing people and even attacking army bases in Maiduguru, which is their stronghold. The government charged more than 100 protesters with treason after participating in a march that supported the Independence, despite President Jonathan's reassurances that he is capable of handling Nigeria's security situation. President Jonathan did not have any peace on social media either, as critics came out strongly to oppose his comments on Facebook. Most of the people were critical of how he handled the food crisis.



MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
The mother of Nigerian Finance Minister Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala was kidnapped from her home and held hostage for five days. The kidnappers demanded the minister's resignation for failing to release oil subsidy money. The minister had earlier in January instituted a policy to end fuel subsidies.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 42 (43/53)
Democracy Index: 3.83
Press Freedom Index: 50 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 27 (139/174)
Human Development Index: 0.471
NMG Grade: 5/10
2012 Grade: F

BURKINA FASO



NAME: BLAISE COMPAORE

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF BURKINA FASO, SINCE OCTOBER 15, 1987

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Made his early career in the Burkinabe armed forces, receiving military training from France. With French-backing, Compaore, then minister for justice, mounted a coup d'etat in 1987 against his close friend, then president Thomas Sankara. The charismatic and popular revolutionary was dismembered and buried in an unmarked grave, apparently under orders from Compaore. He seized power, and has now held it for 23 years, holding periodic elections denounced by many as shams. A classic African "Big Man," he is known for his ostentatious wealth, which offends many, considering he rules one of the poorest countries in the world.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
He played a big role in cooling down the situation in Mali by mediating between the rebels in the north and the interim government. In the end, the rebels pushed on with their offensive until they were halted by France's intervention.

FAILURES:
Parliament passed a Bill allowing for amnesty for all the presidents since Independence. The legislature also changed the lower and upper age limits for the presidentcy. Though the presidential tenure was reduced from seven to five years, Compaore is set to run for another term in 2015.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
A programme of providing people with improved seed varieties of the staple crop began bearing fruit as farmers reaped three times more than their usual yields.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 55 (18/52)
Democracy Index: 3.59
Press Freedom Index: 42 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 38 (83/174)
Human Development Index: 0.343
NMG Grade: 4.5/10
2012 Grade: F

SIERRA LEONE

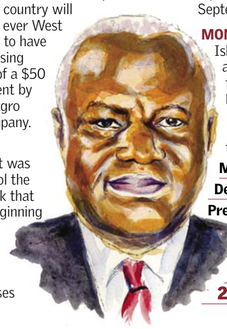
NAME: ERNEST BAI KOROMA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE, SINCE SEPTEMBER 17, 2007

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Came to power in 2007 in elections considered free and fair, and is considered among the most effective presidents in Africa. Koroma was re-elected as president for his second and final term, on November 23, 2012, with 58.7 per cent of the vote.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
In 2012 Sierra Leone celebrated several firsts; the country held its first ever marathon race, which attracted more than 400 participants from across the world, in aid of an NGO that supports street children. The country also launched its first mobile money service when Airtel Sierra Leone partnered with banks. The country will also be the first ever West African country to have a rubber processing plant courtesy of a $50 million investment by a Bangladeshi agro investment company.

FAILURES:
The government was unable to control the cholera outbreak that began at the beginning of the year. According to the United Nations there were 11,189 cases reported, leading to the death of 392 by September.



MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Isha Johansen, owner of FC Johansen, announced that she would vie to become the first female president of the Sierra Leone football association because the country's football was in a terrible state. Her club defeated Liverpool in 2009 in the Swiss Under-16 cup.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 48 (48/52)
Democracy Index: 4.51
Press Freedom Index: 49 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 31 (123/174)
Human Development Index: 0.359
NMG Grade: 5/10
2012 Grade: F

EGYPT



NAME: MOHAMMED MORSY

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT, SINCE JUNE 30, 2012

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
An engineering graduate, the former professor joined the Muslim Brotherhood in 1977. He became Member of Parliament in 2002 as an independent candidate since the Brotherhood was forbidden from nominating candidates under Hosni Mubarak's rule. On June 24, 2012, he was elected president of Egypt.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Egypt held an election in 2012 that led to Mohammed Morsy's ascent to power. He is Egypt's first civilian president.

FAILURES:
Egypt continued to face a number of economic problems: a rising budget deficit, falling foreign exchange reserves and a sliding currency.

Protests continued, most notable those against Morsy's decree in November giving himself near-absolute power to enable him to push through a new constitution.

In August, Morsy ordered the resignation of two top army officals, among them Field Marshall Mohammed Hussein Tantawi, then head of the armed forces.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Mohammed Morsy, the Muslim Brotherhood candidate, was sworn in as the first democratically elected president of Egypt in June.

Mo IBRAHIM INDEX: 58 (14/52)
Democracy Index: 3.95
Press Freedom Index: 57 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 32 (118/174)
Human Development Index: 0.662
NMG grade: 3/10
2012 Grade: F

MOZAMBIQUE

NAME: ARMANDO EMILIO GUEBUZA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE, SINCE FEBRUARY 2, 2005

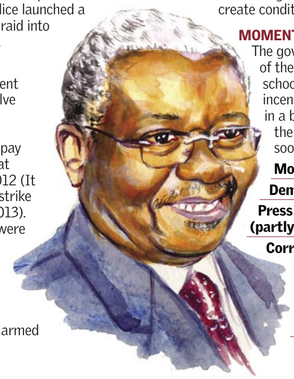
HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A former leader of Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique — Mozambique Liberation Front), he served briefly as part of a 10-member collective presidency after the death of Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel, in 1986. When socialist economic policies were abandoned under President Joaquim Chissano, Guebuza became a successful and wealthy businessman. He was chosen as Frelimo's presidential candidate in 2004 and won.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The government signed an anti-poverty deal with its main trading partner China, as part of efforts to help the millions of Mozambicans living in abject poverty. The Centre for Co-operation on Poverty Reduction will develop research and policy recommendations to fight poverty in the country.

Guebuza and President Joyce Banda of Malawi signed an electricity agreement in May in a step to restore strained relations between the two neighbours. Relations soured in 2009 after a diplomatic spat when Malawian police launched a cross-border raid into Mozambique.

FAILURES:
The government failed to resolve agitation by Mozambican doctors over pay that started at the end of 2012 (It resulted in a strike in January 2013). The doctors were demanding a wage raise of 100 per cent.

Former Mozambican armed movement Renamo began regrouping its command ahead of a planned national demonstration in October. They were demanding a transitional government to create conditions for a free and fair election.



MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
The government banned the wearing of the burqa in public and private schools. However, the decision incensed the Muslim community and in a bid to calm the religious storm, the government lifted the ban soon after.

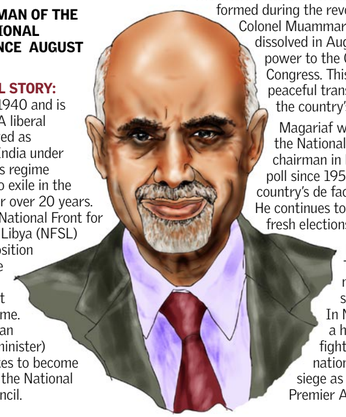
Mo Ibrahim Index: 55 (21/52)
Democracy Index: 4.90
Press Freedom Index: 43 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 31 (123/174)
Human Development Index: 0.327 (low)
NMG Grade: 4/10
2012 Grade: F

LIBYA

NAME: MOHAMED YOUSEF EL-MAGARIAF

TITLE: CHAIRMAN OF THE GENERAL NATIONAL CONGRESS SINCE AUGUST 8, 2012

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
He was born in 1940 and is from Benghazi. A liberal Islamist, he served as ambassador to India under Colonel Gaddafi's regime before going into exile in the United States for over 20 years. He founded the National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL) in 1981, an opposition group that made several coup attempts against the Gaddafi regime. He beat Ali Zeidan (current prime minister) by 113 to 85 votes to become the chairman of the National Transitional Council.



SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The interim National Transitional Council, formed during the revolt that killed Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, was dissolved in August 2012, handing power to the General National Congress. This marked the first peaceful transition of power in the country's history.

Magariaf was elected by the National Congress as chairman in Libya's first free poll since 1952, making him the country's de facto head of state. He continues to hold the seat until fresh elections are held in 2013.

FAILURES:
The year was marked by civil strife and unrest. In November, nearly a hundred armed fighters had the national assembly under siege as they protested Premier Ali Zeidan's new Cabinet line-up. The protestors claimed the line-up had ministers linked to Colonel Gaddafi's regime.

Benghazi police chief Farraj al-Dursi was assassinated in November in a drive-by shooting outside his home, just one of many security officers killed in Benghazi in 2012. He had been appointed shortly after an attack on the US consulate in Benghazi.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
The United States consulate in Benghazi was attacked by an armed mob of extremist Islamists reacting to a film deemed offensive to Islam. The American ambassador to Libya, J. Christopher Stevens, was killed along with three other officials. The consulate was looted and set on fire.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 49.9 (28/53)
Democracy Index: 1.94
Press Freedom Index: 94 (not free)
Corruption Index: 2.2 (146/183)
Human Development Index: 0.769 (High)
NMG grade: 3/10
2012 Grade: F

CONGO, REPUBLIC OF

NAME: DENIS SASSOU-NGUESSO

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CONGO, SINCE OCT 25, 1997; HE WAS PREVIOUSLY PRESIDENT FROM 1979 TO 1992

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
His personal spending habits are the source of heavy criticism and he is being investigated by French police due to claims that he has used millions of pounds of embezzled public funds to acquire lavish properties in France.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Congo and China signed accords worth $1.225 billion in late 2012 as part of a project to rebuild parts of Brazzaville that were destroyed by a deadly munitions depot blast in March. Some of the money was also set to go towards developing the country's telecommunications network, as well as building a road in the north of the country.

President Nguesso's ruling Congolese Labour Party won majority seats in the legislative elections, although the main opposition party decried fraud and irregularities during the election.

Africa's first homegrown tablet computer (similar to the iPad) was invented by a Congolese national, Verone Mankou. The tablet, named "Way-C" was first presented to the public in September 2011 and retailed at $299.

FAILURES:
Corruption remained rife in the country, ranking 144 out of 174 globally in Transparency International's 2012 Corruption Index.

In the World Bank's *Doing Business 2012* report, Congo ranked 181 out of 183 countries with these areas in dire need of reform: Taxation, cross-border trade and contract law.

Unemployment in the country remains very high resulting from poor quality of education and training, insufficient job creation and an unsympathetic environment for private sector development.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
The March 4 explosions at a munitions depot in the Mpila quarter in the east of the capital killed nearly 300 people, injured over 2,300 and left 17,000 homeless. The country faced a major humanitarian challenge as it did not have the medical specialists to handle the large numbers of the injured.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 43 (41/52)
Democracy Index: 2.89
Press Freedom Index: 55 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 26 (144/174)
Human Development Index: 0.534
NMG Grade: 4/10
2012 Grade: ICU



MAURITANIA

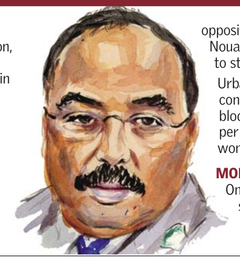
NAME: MOHAMED OULD ABDELAZIZ

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA, SINCE AUGUST 5, 2009

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
This firebrand general led two coups in five years, coming to power after ousting his democratically-elected predecessor in a 2009 coup. Was elected president later in 2009, in elections initially boycotted by the opposition, but later deemed "somewhat" free and fair by observers.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
In an effort to fight corruption, the government introduced a new public procurement law in January 2012.

FAILURES:
Abdelaziz continued to face opposition from the main opposition groups who boycotted Independence Day celebrations in November. In May, thousands of opposition activists staged protests in Nouakchott, calling for the president to step down.



Urban youth unemployment continued to be a major stumbling block, affecting an estimated 50.8 per cent of men and 69 per cent of women.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
On October 13, Abdelaziz was shot in the arm by one of his soldiers. The soldier involved claimed that he fired upon a car that seemed "suspicious," not realising that the president was one of the occupants.

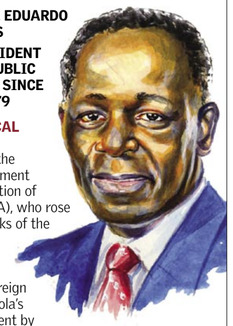
Mo Ibrahim Index: 48 (32/52)
Democracy Index: 4.17
Press Freedom Index: 52 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 31 (123/174)
Human Development Index: 0.467 (low)
NMG Grade: 3.5/10
2012 Grade: ICU

ANGOLA

NAME: JOSÉ EDUARDO DOS SANTOS

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA, SINCE SEPT 10, 1979

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
An officer of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), who rose to the top ranks of the organisation before being appointed minister of foreign affairs in Angola's first government by President Agostinho Neto. Following the death of Neto in 1979, the ruling Central Committee unanimously approved the appointment of José Eduardo dos Santos as the country's second president.



SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Dos Santos sailed through August 31 elections – the country's first - with the ruling MPLA garnering 72 per cent of the vote. The main opposition Unita and other opposition parties challenged the results in court but the Constitution Court ruled in favour of the 70-year-old president.

The Angolan economy continued to perform well in 2012 with growth being fuelled by revenues generated by fuel exports. The economy grew 7.4 per cent in 2012 with the country's 2012 budget projecting a 7.1 per cent growth this year.

FAILURES:
Leading Angolan activist Francisco Tunga Alberto declared 2012 a tragic year for human rights in the country. The Dos Santos administration was accused of hunting down critics and oppressing the masses following countrywide anti-regime protests in 2011.

The UN also accused Luanda of violating the human rights of illegal immigrants from DR Congo who slipped into Angola after attacks by militia in the east of the troubled Central African country. The government vehemently denied the allegation.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
In a surprise move, Angola's Supreme Court quashed the appointment of the country's electoral body boss, Suzana Inglês, deeming it unconstitutional. Her swearing in had been boycotted by the opposition, which hailed the ruling.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 44 (40/52)
Democracy Index: 3.32
Press Freedom Index: 67 (not free)
Corruption Index: 22 (157/174)
Human Development Index: 0.508 (low)
NMG Grade: 4/10
2012 Grade: ICU

NIGER

NAME: MAHAMADOU ISSOUFOU

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NIGER, SINCE APRIL 7, 2011

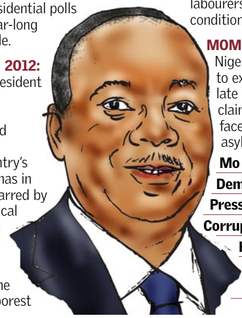
HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Issoufou is no stranger to politics. He has stood as a candidate for each presidential election since 1993, was prime minister from 1993 to 1994 and president of the National Assembly from 1995 to 1996. The veteran opposition leader was declared winner of March 2011 presidential polls held to end a year-long military junta rule.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
In November, President Issoufou opened a broad-based conference aimed at improving the state of the country's judiciary, which has in the past been marred by corruption, political interference and controversy.

FAILURES:
Niger remains one of the world's poorest nations and is grappling with the threats of terrorism and the narcotics trade.

According to Save the Children, Niger is the worst place in the world to be a mother. In their annual index, the report said the food crisis in the region was threatening the lives of up to a million youngsters.

In April, workers at the Areva Imouraren uranium mining project began a week-long strike stemming from a dispute between the labourers and the management over work conditions.



MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Niger turned down requests by Libya to extradite Saadi Gaddafi, son of the late Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, claiming that Saadi would certainly face the death penalty. He was granted asylum.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 44.2 (39/53)
Democracy Index: 3.38
Press Freedom Index: 59 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 2.5 (134/183)
Human Development Index: 0.304
NMG Grade: 4/10
2012 Grade: ICU

GUINEA

NAME: ALPHA CONDE

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA, SINCE DECEMBER 21, 2010

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Alpha Condé, who had spent more than a decade as Guinea's premier opposition politician, at last won the presidency in November 2010. The elections were considered the first free and credible polls in the country's history. He suffers from acute diabetes and, it is alleged he can no longer walk unassisted.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Agreeing to the opposition's terms for the setting of the parliamentary elections that will now be held on June 30. The opposition had accused the president of delaying the legislative election due to be held in 2011 in order to rig the vote. One of the measures that the opposition leader Cellou Dalein Diall had called for was the dismissal of the chairman of Guinea's electoral commission, Louceny Camara.

FAILURES:
Guinea's biggest mining town was brought to a halt after a Russian owned aluminium plant in Fria shut down following months of pay disputes with the locals who worked there. Residents of the town heavily relied on it for the provision of water and electricity.

The closure reflected badly on President Conde as he had in November 2011 promised to review all mining contracts.

Despite his efforts to revive the economy, most of the country's population still languishes in poverty.



MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
President Conde had to delay the Parliamentary vote in April and re-schedule it to 2013 saying that he wanted to give the electoral officials more time to fix problems in the voter registration system.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 43 (42/52)
Democracy Index: 2.79
Press Freedom Index: 62 (not free)
Corruption Index: 24 (154/174)
Human Development Index: 0.355
NMG Grade: 4.5/10
2012 Grade: ICU

MALI

NAME: DIONCOUNDA TRAORÉ

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALI, SINCE APRIL 12, 2012 IN AN INTERIM CAPACITY

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A former teacher, the 70-year-old studied mathematics in the Soviet Union and Algeria. He later obtained a doctorate in France. He worked with trade unions and went into politics later, his most recent post being Speaker of parliament. He had previously occupied several ministerial portfolios including defence, and foreign affairs. He took over after a military coup in March that overthrew his predecessor Amadou Toumani Toure.



SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Mali's presidential elections scheduled for July 7, 2013 appear to be still on course despite the political instability of recent months. They were scheduled for April 2012 but were postponed following the coup in March.

The African Union, regional bloc Ecowas and the United Nations agreed to an African-led military "co-ordination" to recapture the cities of the north from the Islamists.

FAILURES:
The year began on a turbulent note. Former President Toure was overthrown in a coup led by Captain Amadou Sanogo.

In May last year, the United Nations expressed grave concern for the country's ancient city of Timbuktu. The rebels in the north posed a real danger to both Timbuktu and the 17th century tomb of Askia. The UN placed the tomb on its list of sites in danger.

2012 was marred by instability in the north caused by the Islamist rebels. They made steady advances towards the capital until the French responded to the looming crisis by sending in troops to recapture the northern areas that had been seized by al-Qaeda affiliated rebels.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
In May 2012, Traore was attacked by angry protestors who broke into his office and beat him up. He arrived in hospital unconscious but the vice president reported that his life was not in danger.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 55 (20/52)
Democracy Index: 6.36
Press Freedom Index: 24 (Free)
Corruption Index: 34 (105/174)
Human Development Index: 0.344
NMG Grade: 2/10
2012 Grade: ICU

ETHIOPIA



NAME: HAILEMARIAM DESALEGN

TITLE: PRIME MINISTER OF THE FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA, SINCE AUGUST 20, 2012.

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
An engineer who rose through the ranks of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) from the late 1990s. He had been the deputy prime minister and the minister for foreign affairs since 2010, working under the wing of prime minister Meles Zenawi until his death.

Hailemariam took over as the interim leader after Meles's death in August 2012. He was then confirmed by the EPRDF ruling coalition on September 21, 2012.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Leadership was passed on to a southerner from a minority national group, away from the politically dominant Tigrayans. In power for only five months in 2012, Desalegn sounded a relatively moderate note, promising to mend diplomatic fences with archrival Eritrea.

Ethiopia became the first country in Africa to take delivery of the Boeing 787 Dreamliner, making it only the second in the world (after Japan) to operate the aircraft.

The Horn of Africa state still continues to register impressive economic growth rates, with the IMF forecasting growth at seven per cent.

FAILURES:
Despite the change in leadership, the country is expected to see few policy changes. The media continues to be tightly controlled, and journalists languish in jail. The country ranked a dismal 175 out of 192 in the global Press Freedom Index.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
The year was marked by the passing of cerebral but iron-fisted ruler Meles on August 20, after 17 years in power. The transfer of power to Hailemariam went off more smoothly than many analysts had predicted.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 47 (33/52)
Democracy Index: 3.79 (121/167)
Press Freedom Index: 81 (not free)
Corruption Index: 33 (113/174)
Human Development Index: 0.396
NMG Grade: 4/10
2012 Grade: ICU

MADAGASCAR

NAME: ANDRY RAJOELINA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE HIGH TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MADAGASCAR, SINCE MARCH 18, 2009

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Born to a middle class family, Andry Rajoelina began his career as a disc jockey at clubs and bars in Madagascar's capital before moving to the airwaves and gaining a national profile. He married into a wealthy family and went on to own his own radio station, Viva Radio. Launched the Determined Malagasy Youth opposition movement and was elected mayor of Antananarivo in 2007. Was handed the presidency in March 2009 by a cabal of generals who took power after democratically elected president Marc Ravalomanana stepped down in the face of mass protests. Nicknamed "TGV", after the French high-speed train Tres Grand Vitesse.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Tourism, agribusiness, construction and the manufacturing sector have been growing slowly and contributed to the nation's economic growth.

It was reported that the $5.5 billion Ambatovy nickel and cobalt mine that goes into production from 2013 would help prop up the economy.

In late 2012, the country's Independent National Electoral Commission of the Transition finally set a date for the long-awaited presidential elections to be held on May 8, 2013.

FAILURES:
Nearly 70 per cent of the island nation's people remained trapped in endemic poverty.



As a consequence, sex tourism and underage prostitution were on the rise.

Media freedom continued to be curtailed, with police arresting and detaining two presenters at Free FM radio after they commented on the sacking of the country's environment and forestry minister. Media crackdowns have almost become the norm since President Rajoelina took power in a coup in 2009.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
President Rajoelina signed a treaty abolishing capital punishment in the country in September 2012.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 46
Democracy Index: 3.93
PRESS FREEDOM INDEX: 63 (NOT FREE)
Corruption Index: 32 (118/174)
Human Development Index: 0.483
NMG Grade: 3/10
2012 Grade: ICU

COTE D' IVOIRE

NAME: ALASSANE DRAMANE OUATTARA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CÔTE D'IVOIRE, SINCE DECEMBER 4, 2010

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
An economist by profession, President Ouattara has for decades been a major player in international financial institutions. His rise to the presidency was a turbulent one; he faced incumbent president Laurent Gbagbo and the results were disputed with both Ouattara and Gbagbo claiming victory. It was widely accepted internationally that Ouattara had won and a political crisis ensued. This resulted in renewed fighting, and ended with Gbagbo's capture and arrest on April 11, 2011.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
President Outtara sacked a minister in April who was allegedly involved in a scandal where $8 million meant for victims of pollution was misappropriated.

FAILURES:
President Outtara dissolved the government in November at the height of political instability due to a new Marriage Bill that ended up splitting the government. The Bill sought to make wives joint heads of the household.



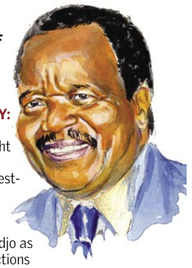
MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
The International Criminal Court found that former president Laurent Gbagbo is healthy enough to face crimes against humanity. The country also officially became an ICC member in early 2013, after turning in paperwork to the United Nations in New York.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 39 (46/52)
Democracy Index: 3.08
Press Freedom Index: 70 (not free)
Corruption Index: 29 (130/174)
Human Development Index: 0.432
NMG Grade: 4/10
2012 Grade: ICU

CAMEROON

NAME: PAUL BIYA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON, SINCE NOVEMBER 6, 1982



HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Has held the presidency, and the country, in a tight grip since 1982, making him Africa's fourth longest-ruling leader. Became prime minister in 1975, and was chosen by president Ahmadou Ahidjo as his successor. Holds elections from time to time, but these have no credibility. Routinely ranked among Africa's worst dictators.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The country announced the entry of a third mobile operator into the market when it awarded an operator licence to Vietnam's Viettel, a move that heralded the arrival of third generation (3G) mobile technology in the country, set for 2014.

Following a UN-supported conference, experts from both Cameroon and Nigeria agreed to begin demarcating their land and maritime borders, which have been the cause of strife between the two for years. The demarcation was ordered by the International Court of Justice in 2002 to settle the matter.

The African Development Bank forecast economic growth of 4.4 per cent in 2012, propelled by the recovery of the oil sector.

FAILURES:
The country's progress continues to be slowed by endemic corruption. In April, former prime minister Ephraim Inon was arrested as part of a corruption investigation. President Biya's own son, Franck Biya, had a petition filed against him by Cameroonians in the diaspora, who wanted him indicted for holding ill-gotten wealth in France.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Biya ordered an investigation into the failure of the Cameroonian national football team to honour a November 15 friendly match with Algeria.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 45 (36/52)
Democracy Index: 3.41
Press Freedom Index: 68 (not free)
Corruption Index: 26 (144/174)
Human Development Index: 0.495
NMG Grade: 3/10
2012 Grade: ICU

SWAZILAND

NAME: MSWATI III (BORN MAKHOSETIVE DLAMINI)

TITLE: HIS MAJESTY THE NGWENYAMA (KING) OF SWAZILAND, SINCE APRIL 25, 1986

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
One of the many sons of King Sobhuza II, the Great Council of State (the Liqoqo) selected the 14-year-old prince Makhosetive to be the next king following Sobhuza's death in 1982. He was crowned king on April 25, 1986.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
King Mswati remains an absolute monarch, in control of the landlocked kingdom in spite of the protests and opposition to unseat him.



FAILURES:
South Africa's ruling ANC indicated that it would push for democratic reforms in the kingdom, saying that it wanted the country to lift a ban on trade unions and political parties. The party also asked for the release of political prisoners.

Swazi teachers downed their tools for over a month after going on strike on June 22. They demanded a 4.5 per cent salary increase. Nurses had similarly gone on strike but returned to work following a court order.

Swazi Prime Minister Sibusiso Dlamini remained in his post despite a vote of no confidence by parliament. The PM and his Cabinet refused to step down despite censure for ordering the country's sole telephone provider SPTC switched off and its services replaced by South African firm MTN.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Amos Mbedzi, a South African, was found guilty of high treason and terrorism by a court for trying to bomb a bridge near the palace. The bomb was intended for the king, but it blew up prematurely in a car the accused was travelling in, causing serious injuries to him and other passengers.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 52 (26/52)
Democracy Index: 3.26
Press Freedom Index: 76 (not free)
Corruption Index: 37 (88/174)
Human Development Index: 0.536 (low)
NMG Grade: 2.5/10
2012 Grade: ICU

TOGO

NAME: FAURE GNASSINGBE

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE TOGOLESE REPUBLIC, SINCE MAY 4, 2005

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
The Gnassingbe clan have ruled Togo as their personal fiefdom since 1967. The current president is the son of the late president Gnassingbé Eyadéma, who took power upon Togo's Independence in 1967 and held it for 38 years. Upon his death in 2005, his son Faure was immediately installed as president by military authorities. Sham elections were held soon thereafter, and resulted in protests that were violently crushed, leaving 790 people dead and 4,345 injured.



SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The Ministry of Security and Civil Defence banned checkpoints on its primary highway that normally cause delays in the movement of goods between Togo and Burkina Faso, reducing the time spent on the road from four days to one day.

FAILURES:
The country witnessed clashes in June as demonstrators gathered in Lome to protest against reforms to the electoral code, which they said favoured the ruling party. The opposition and civil society also took to the streets in September demanding the president resigns.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Togo women went on a week-long sex strike in August in order to force their husbands to mount pressure on the dictatorial Eyadema dynasty. The family has been at the helm of the country's leadership for 45 years.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 44 (39/52)
Democracy Index: 3.45
Press Freedom Index: 69 (not free)
Corruption Index: 30 (128/174)
Human Development Index: 0.459
NMG Grade: 3/10
2012 Grade: ICU

DJIBOUTI

NAME: ISMAIL OMAR GUELLEH

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF DJIBOUTI, SINCE MAY 8, 1999

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Guelleh was groomed to succeed his uncle Hassan Gouled Aptidon as president, and did so in 1999. He had a previous career in the police, and was trained by the French Secret Service. He won the 2005 elections with 100 per cent of the vote – not surprising, considering he was the only candidate in the race.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
In November, Houssein Ahmed Farah, a Djiboutian journalist jailed for three months, was released, media rights watchdog Reporters Without Borders (RSF) reported. According to RSF, the journalist, who worked for opposition radio station La Voix de Djibouti, was arrested for allegedly distributing false voter registration cards. Djibouti sent hundreds of peacekeepers to Somalia to help the new Somali government in its war on Islamist militants Al Shabaab.

FAILURES:
Djibouti continues to do poorly in the Press Freedom Index, ranking 164 out of 192.

The country also has little economic opportunity and the unemployment rate continues to be high. Nearly 80 per cent of the country's population resides in the capital, Djibouti, with more continuing to trickle in from the rural areas further straining the poverty-plagued city.



MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn made an official visit to Djibouti in December 2012, affirming that Ethiopia was committed to co-operating with Djibouti. Rail, electricity and port projects between the two countries are set to address development issues in the two nations.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 49 (29/52)
Democracy Index: 2.68 (147/167)
Press Freedom Index: 74 (not free)
Corruption Index: 36 (94/174)
Human Development Index: 0.445
NMG Grade: 3/10
2012 Grade: ICU

BURUNDI

NAME: PIERRE NKURUNZIZA

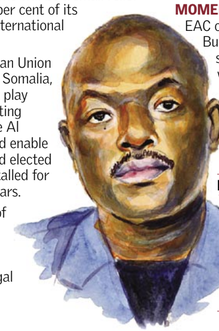
TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BURUNDI, SINCE AUGUST 26, 2005

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A university lecturer until the outbreak of the Burundian civil war in 1993, when he joined the rebel Force for the Defence of Democracy as a soldier after the army attacked his campus. Later turned the rebel group into a political party. Came to power in the 2005 presidential elections.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Following the growth in Burundi's tax revenues since joining the EAC, the Burundi Revenue Authority (OBR) has vowed to widen its tax net to begin taxing professional income. This much needed source of income will be a small relief to the country as 50 per cent of its budget comes from international donors.

Its troops in the African Union peacekeeping force in Somalia, Amisom, continued to play a critical role in defeating the last pockets of the Al Shabaab militants, and enable a new constitution and elected government to be installed for the first time in 20 years.

A World Bank study of the EAC economies showed Burundi had carried out the most trade-related legal reforms in the region.



FAILURES:
Burundi was ranked the most corrupt country in the East African Community by Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index for the second year in a row.

The energy minister revealed that only 10 per cent of the country's population has access to electricity.

It also emerged that alcohol consumption was destroying the tiny country's youth, with a report claiming that 53 per cent of Bujumbura youth consumed alcohol before age 13 and that 24 per cent of them regularly consumed alcoholic beverages.

According to a 2012 Global Hunger Index, Burundi has the highest hunger levels in sub-Saharan Africa.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
EAC officials reported that exports from Burundi to the EAC had risen 15 per cent since it joined the bloc in 2007. Also, data which came out in 2012 showed that the nation's share of EAC trade also grew to 4.2 per cent in the previous year, up from 2.6 per cent recorded in 2010.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 45 (37/52)
Democracy Index: 4.01 (113/167)
Press Freedom Index: 72 (not free)
Corruption Index: 19 (165/174)
Human Development Index: 0.355
NMG Grade: 3/10
2012 Grade: ICU

GAMBIA

NAME: YAHYA JAMMEH

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE GAMBIA, SINCE OCTOBER 18, 1996

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A 29-year-old army captain, Jammeh returned with Gambian forces from Liberia in 1994 and staged a bloodless coup against the longtime ruler, Sir Dawda Jawara. Has since won three controversial elections. Among Africa's most bizarre and colourful leaders, he claims mystic powers, such as the ability to cure Aids and asthma with single dose herbal treatments and a banana-rich diet that he personally concocts. His ability to read at a functional level is doubted by some. He has expressed ambitions of territorial expansion. He carries a sword at all times.



SUCCESSES IN 2012:
In September, President Jammeh indefinitely suspended executions after international criticism. Earlier in August, nine prisoners were executed publicly by firing squad.

FAILURES:
President Yahya Jammeh's government has been heavily criticised for gagging the media and limiting the freedom of expression, with many of the media houses that oppose the government or appear too critical being shut down. Several Gambian journalists have been arrested and persecuted this year alone prompting the Committee for the Protection of Journalists to demand that Ecowas kick the West African nation out of the regional bloc.

Also, relations with its neighbour Senegal were strained after two Senegalese nationals were executed on the order of Jammeh.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Former justice minister Fatou Bensouda was in June sworn in as the International Criminal Court's new Prosecutor in The Hague, taking over several African cases that had been initiated by his predecessor Luis Moreno Ocampo.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 52 (27/52)
Democracy Index: 3.38
Press Freedom Index: 81 (Not Free)
Corruption Index:
Human Development Index: 0.439
NMG Grade: 2/10
2012 Grade: ICU

CHAD

NAME: IDRISS DEBY ITNO

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHAD, SINCE DECEMBER 2, 1990

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
A career military man who came to power in 1990 after toppling president Hissene Habre, his former mentor, with the help of the French secret service.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The Central African country was hooked up to a fibre optic cable in early 2012, finally connecting it to the information super highway through Yaounde, Cameroon. It thus became only the second country after Cameroon in Central Africa to do so at the time.

FAILURES:
Climate change is a major threat to food security with Lake Chad having lost an estimated 80% of its surface area in the past three years. An estimated 30 million people in Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger rely on the lake for their livelihood. The government has proposed initiatives to deal with the impending calamity, but says lack of resources to implement them hampers its efforts.

Human rights watchdog Amnesty International released a report titled "We are all dying here" in late 2012, decrying the poor state of Chad's prisons. It reported the prisons were severely overcrowded, with food and water being unfit for human consumption, and sometimes lacking altogether. It also alleged human rights violations against the prisoners.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
High-level corruption continues to plague Chad, with TI's Corruption Index placing it a dismal 165 out of 174 countries. In November, the mayor of N'Djamena was suspended following allegations of corruption, just four months from his election.

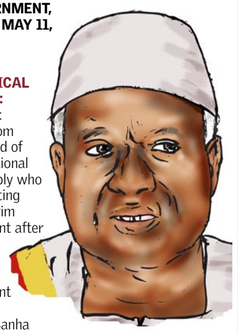
Mo Ibrahim Index: 33 (50/52)
Democracy Index: 1.62
Press Freedom Index: 75 (not free)
Corruption Index: 19 (165/174)
Human Development Index: 0.34
NMG Grade: 4/10
2012 Grade: ICU



GUINEA-BISSAU

NAME: MANUEL SERIFO NHAMADJO

TITLE: HEAD OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT, SINCE MAY 11, 2012



HIS POLITICAL STORY:
He took over from the head of the National Assembly who was acting as interim president after then-president Malam Bacai Sanha died in January while undergoing treatment in Paris. Prior to this, he served as the president of the National People's Assembly of Guinea Bissau. In the March 18 election, he placed third in the first round, but was elected interim head after a military coup in April that saw the leading candidates arrested.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The Guinea Bissau army returned to the barracks after the setting up of the transitional government, although the stain of having executed then-president Joao Vieira clung to it. The junta and a group of political parties agreed to a road map that will see the country hold elections sometime in 2013 after the appointment of a new election body.

FAILURES:
Donors cut aid to the West African country over what they termed "lack of democratic institutions," leading to an economic crisis as the country was heavily reliant on foreign aid.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
The UN Security Council expressed concern over the country's lack of rule of law, adding that drug trafficking had increased since the coup and demanded a return to constitutional rule. The country had become a transit point for drugs heading to South America and Europe.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 40 (45/52)
Democracy Index: 1.99
Press Freedom Index: 57 (partly free)
Corruption Index: 25 (150/174)
Human Development Index: 0.364
NMG Grade: 2/10
2012 Grade: Morgue

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

NAME: TEODORO OBIANG NGUEMA MBASOGO

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF EQUATORIAL GUINEA, SINCE AUG 3, 1979

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Teodoro is the nephew of founding president Francisco Macías Nguema. President Obiang wore many hats before mounting a military coup and donning that of the brutal dictator, including those of army officer and prison warden. He has claimed through state radio to be a "God." His enemies claim he kills and eats the liver and intimate body parts of those who cross his path. Has siphoned off profits from the country's oil reserves and allegedly stashed it in overseas accounts, leaving his people in grinding poverty. He is listed by *Forbes* magazine as one of the wealthiest heads of state in the world, having amassed a personal fortune of $600 million or more.



SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Equatorial Guinea opened the border to Cameroon four months after closing it due to a trade dispute — Cameroonian traders had been forced to pay to enter the neighbouring country.

FAILURES:
Despite the high poverty level in his country, the president said that he wants to move the country's capital to his rural home in Oyala.

He is accused of nepotism. He appointed his son Teodorin Obiang as vice president and another son to a key ministerial position. He also named his brother defence minister.

In early June, over 30 Cameroonians were expelled from the country. Cameroonians had frequently complained of xenophobia, arbitrary incarcerations and evictions, confiscation of their residence permits, and a string of other harassments by the country's security forces as well as by its citizens.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Prosecutors in France called for an international arrest warrant for the president's son, Teodorin Obiang, on money laundering charges. He is world renowned for his lavish lifestyle.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 41 (44/52)
Democracy Index: 1.77
Press Freedom Index: 91 (not free)
Corruption Index: 20 (163/174)
Human Development Index: 0.554
NMG Grade: 2/10
2012 Grade: Morgue

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

NAME: FRANÇOIS BOZIZÉ YANGOUVONDA

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC FROM MARCH 15, 2003 (OUSTED MARCH 2013 – EDITOR'S NOTE).

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
President Bozize seized power in a coup, overthrowing Ange-Felix Patasse in 2003, before winning an election two years later.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Little to write home about. The country's football moved up 15 places in October's Fifa World Rankings into 49th place, entering the world's top 50, thus joining the top ranks of Africa's teams, coming in the 9th position.



FAILURES:
The Central African Republic's army turned out to be too ill-equipped and indisciplined to offer any resistance to the Seleka rebels' offensive, as they captured swathes of the country.

President Bozize caved in to the rebels' demands and announced the appointment of prime minister Nicolas Tiangaye, an opposition figure. The move was made after a ceasefire between the government and the rebels.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Fighters of the Seleka rebel coalition began to take over parts of the country on December 10, and two weeks later they were knocking on the doors of the capital Bangui. *(A power-sharing deal saved Bozize, but in March 2013 it unravelled and he was kicked out by the rebels)*

The president was reported to have had his own son detained for failing to pay a hotel bill. Kevin Bozize was said to have been detained by police after he ran up a bill of close to $15,000 at a local hotel in Bangui.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 34 (48/52)
Democracy Index: 1.82
Press Freedom Index: 62 (not free)
Corruption Index: 26 (144/174)
Human Development Index: 0.352
NMG Grade: 1/10
2012 Grade: Morgue

ZIMBABWE

NAME: ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE, SINCE DECEMBER 31, 1987



HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Mugabe rose to prominence in the 1960s as the secretary general of the Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu) during the liberation war against the white minority government of Ian Smith. He was a political prisoner in Rhodesia for more than 10 years, a freedom fighter on his release, and the prime minister following Zimbabwe's first democratic elections. In 1987, the position of Prime Minister was abolished and Mugabe assumed the new office of executive president of Zimbabwe.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The European Union said that it would consider lifting sanctions against Mugabe and his inner circle if a peaceful and credible referendum on the constitution were held. The bloc in 2002 slapped the octogenarian leader with a travel ban and asset freeze, accusing him of electoral fraud.

The Zimbabwe Constitutional Select Committee completed the country's draft constitution and handed it over to President Mugabe and Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai in April.

FAILURES:
Finance Minister Tendai Biti announced that the country had only $217 in the bank, saying state finances were in a paralytic state. He said that he had revealed the state of the country's finances to prove that Zimbabwe had no money to finance the general election.

Meanwhile, Zimbabwe continued to struggle to feed its population and poverty is still endemic.

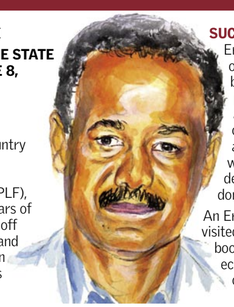
MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Mugabe sparked outrage thousands of miles away when he said Jamaican men were always high and only wanted to sing rather than go to college, calling them "perennially drunk and hooked on marijuana."

Mo Ibrahim Index: 34 (47/52)
Democracy Index: 2.68
Press Freedom Index: 80 (not free)
Corruption Index: 20 (163/174)
Human Development Index: 0.397 (low)
NMG Grade: 2/10
2012 Grade: Morgue

ERITREA

NAME: ISAIAS AFWERKI

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE STATE OF ERITREA, SINCE JUNE 8, 1993



HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Afwerki took leadership of Eritrea after leading the country to Independence in 1991. A co-founder of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), he successfully ended 30 years of secessionist warfare. Called off promised elections in 1997, and governs a one-party state. In 2008, he called off elections for "three or four decades."

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Eritrea maintains the label of the Horn of Africa's "bad boy", but while millions were pledged from various nations and organisations to help the countries affected by drought and famine, Eritrea silently works away at its own model of development, which keeps the donors and dependency at bay.

An Eritrean government delegation visited South Africa with the aim of boosting ties with the continent's economic powerhouse, and signed co-operation agreements.

FAILURES:
The East African security and development bloc, IGAD, put on hold Eritrea's application for readmission after the country's expression of interest in rejoining.

Widespread human rights violations continue. Reporters Without Borders reported that three jailed Eritrean journalists, Dawit Habtemichael, Mattewos Habteab and Wedi Itay had died due to harsh prison conditions in 2012.

In December, 17 Eritrean footballers and team doctor who vanished in Uganda applied for asylum in the country, citing "bad conditions" in their home country.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Eritrea launched a peace effort to mediate in the conflicts in Kordofan and Blue Nile regions pitting Sudan against SPLM-N. Sudanese and SPLM officials were invited to Asmara by President Afwerki to discuss peace initiatives.

Mo Ibrahim Index: 33 (49/52)
Democracy Index: 2.34 (154/167)
Press Freedom Index: 94 (not free)
Corruption Index: 25 (150/174)
Human Development Index: 0.351
NMG Grade: 2/10
2012 Grade: Morgue

CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF

NAME: JOSEPH KABILA KABANGE

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, SINCE JANUARY 17, 2001

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
He was a guerrilla fighter alongside his father, Joseph Kabila, in the struggle to oust the Mobutu regime. Once his father was in power, he rose through the ranks of government and held the position of chief of staff of land forces until the elder president Kabila's assassination in January 2001. He took office in January 7, 2001, 10 days after the murder of his father.

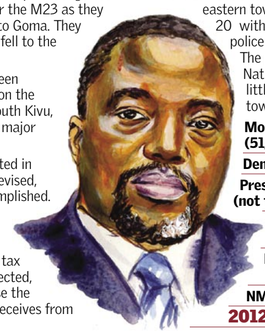
SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The country has posted few headline-grabbing successes in 2012. It however hosted the 14th La Francophonie Summit in October 2012 in Kinshasa, attended by several heads of state, including French President Francois Hollande.

FAILURES:
The ill-equipped and underpaid Congolese army was no match for the M23 as they made their advance into Goma. They mostly fled as the city fell to the rebels.

President Kabila has been criticised for focusing on the events in North and South Kivu, while neglecting other major issues.

The Mining Code adopted in July 2002 was to be revised, but this is yet be accomplished. Deficiencies in the code include the existence of two different Customs and tax regimes, which, if corrected, could considerably raise the revenues the country receives from the mining.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
The M23 rebels took over the strategic eastern town of Goma on November 20 with little resistance from the police and the Congolese army. The presence of the United Nations peacekeepers did little to prevent the fall of the town.



Mo Ibrahim Index: 33 (51/52)
Democracy Index: 2.15
Press Freedom Index: 83 (not free)
Corruption Index: 21 (160/174)
Human Development Index: 0.304
NMG Grade: 2/10
2012 Grade: Morgue

SUDAN

NAME: OMAR HASSAN AL-BASHIR

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, SINCE OCTOBER 16, 1993

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
Al-Bashir faces two international arrest warrants — issued by the International Criminal Court in The Hague — on charges of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. He has dismissed the allegations and has continued to travel to countries that oppose the indictment.

SUCCESSES IN 2012
President Bashir ordered the doubling of the minimum wage, although it only applied to government workers, to help consumers cope with increasing inflation. Despite this, it was still criticised as being only a quarter of the real needed minimum wage.

Bashir and South Sudan leader Salva Kiir committed to the creation of a buffer zone around their shared border in talks held in Addis Ababa. They also agreed to resume oil exports from the South, as well as cross-border trade.

FAILURES:
Despite the partition of Sudan, there continued to be tension over the oil-rich Abyei region, both sides bitterly claiming ownership of the fertile area, and clashes between Northern and Southern forces have occurred.

The economy performed especially badly in 2012. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) had projected a -7.3 per cent GDP contraction, but had to adjust it downwards to -11.2%. This was a direct result of South Sudan's secession, which heavily impacted on the oil revenues that constituted the bulk of Sudan's export earnings.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Sudan experienced a yellow fever outbreak, with experts saying that it was the worst the world had seen in 20 years. The disease had killed 168 people by mid-December and 800 suspected cases were reported in Darfur.



Mo Ibrahim Index: Nil
Democracy Index: 2.38
Press Freedom Index: 78
Corruption Index: 13
Human Development Index: 0.414 (low)
NMG Grade: 2/10
2012 Grade: Morgue

SOUTH SUDAN

NAME: SALVA KIIR MAYARDIT

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN, SINCE JULY 2011

HIS POLITICAL STORY:
He took part in the first Sudanese civil war in the late 1960s and joined the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in the second civil war, where he rose to head the Sudan People's Liberation Army. The former rebel commander took over after the death of the charismatic John Garang in a helicopter crash in 2005, and guided his homeland to achieve full Independence in 2011.



SUCCESSES IN 2012:
Though it remained wracked by violent conflict, the country was lauded by the African Union chair for being able to reach an agreement over conflicts with Sudan. Talks with the North are still ongoing.

In an effort to strengthen diplomatic relations with other countries, South Sudan opened a number of embassies around the world. By mid-2012, it had managed to establish 11 of the 22 embassies it had set out to open initially.

Africa's youngest state also offered to mediate between foes Eritrea and Ethiopia, which have been embroiled in a border conflict for the past 14 years.

FAILURES:
Agreements over Abyei, disputed border areas and the conflict in the Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States of Sudan remain vexing issues.

The kala-azar disease continued its deadly spread in South Sudan, with conflict and poverty worsening the infection rates. It is spread by the bite of the sand-fly and results in death if untreated. The outbreak that began in 2009 has yet to let up, affecting some 25,000 people in 2012.

The fact that it is a new state with many parts still difficult to access; that it remains troubled by conflict; and that its government has not set up effective structures yet, also means that producing and collecting data on South Sudan is still nearly impossible.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
A new oil deal was signed between Juba and Khartoum to restart South Sudan's oil flow through Sudan in December 2012. South Sudan accounted for about 75 per cent of oil Sudan was exporting before the split in July 2011.

Mo Ibrahim Index: n/a
Democracy Index: n/a
Press Freedom Index: 59 (partly free)
Corruption Index: n/a
Human Development Index: n/a
NMG Grade: 3.5/10
2012 Grade: Incomplete

SOMALIA

NAME: HASSAN SHEIKH MOHAMUD

TITLE: PRESIDENT OF SOMALIA, SINCE SEPTEMBER 10, 2012

HIS POLITICAL HISTORY:
He studied at Somalia's national university before the civil war began in 1991, and proceeded to Bhopal University in India.

The 56-year-old university lecturer was relatively unknown up until his election as president. In the academic and NGO worlds, Mohamud, also the co-founder of the Somali Institute of Management and Administrative Development, was a respected and influential figure who specialised in education.

He was chosen by lawmakers in early September 2012. Before his election to the presidency, he had no known political experience.

He was born in 1955 in Jalalaqsi and is from the powerful Hawiye clan in Mogadishu.

SUCCESSES IN 2012:
The port town of Kismayo, a stronghold of the Al Qaeda affiliated Al Shabaab militants, was taken over by the allied Amisom forces.

Following the election of the new president in September 2012, a new prime minister was named as well, who went on to select a lean 10-member Cabinet. The Cabinet incuded Somalia's first female Foreign Minister, Fawzia Yusuf Haji Aden.

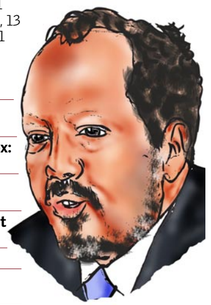
US Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs Wendy Sherman visited Somalia in November, making her the highest ranking US official to call on Somalia in over 20 years.

FAILURES:
Al Shabaab militants continue to be a thorn in the side for the new Somali government's, with the group rejecting the election of the president in September.

Somalia remains one of the most dangerous places in the world to be a journalist, according to Reporters Without Borders.

According to the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists, Somalia comes second on their list of the highest number of journalists killed in the world in 2012 after Syria, with a record 18, surpassing 2009 when nine were killed.

MOMENT OF THE YEAR:
Somali leaders in August 2012 overwhelmingly backed a new constitution that paved the way for the election of leaders to government for the first time in over 30 years. 645 members of the Constituent Assembly were present, of whom 621 backed the document, 13 voted against while 11 abstained.



Mo Ibrahim Index: 7 (52/52)
Democracy Index: n/a
Press Freedom Index: 84 (not free)
Corruption Index: 8 (174/174)
Human Development Index: n/a
NMG Grade: 2/10
2012 Grade: Incomplete

NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

Leaders' grades were derived from how they placed in five respected international indices of governance, plus the Nation Media Group (NMG) Political Index. Their scores in these indices were weighted, then combined to produce a score on 100. The best governors placed closest to 100, and the worst closest to 0. The scorecard heavily rewards consistency. If an Africa leader scores very highly in one or two areas, but poorly in the rest, he/she will end up with a dismal overall grade. A consistent score across the board, on the other hand, will place him/her highly in the overall standings. The indices were weighted as follows:

- **Mo Ibrahim Index – 10%**
- **Democracy Index – 10%**
- **Press Freedom Index – 10%**
- **Corruption Index – 15%**
- **Human Development Index – 20%**
- **NMG Political Index – 35%**

Leaders were assigned letter grades based on their 0-100 score, derived from the six indices. The best of the group received "A", good performers got "B", passable leaders got "C." Leaders who performed below standard received "D" and "F."

Also, two special categories were added to these basic grades: the Intensive Care Unit (ICU) and the Morgue. Leaders in this range represent the bottom of the barrel.

For a full explanation of the methodology and the indices it partly drew from, visit www.theeastafrican.co.ke & www.africareview.com

Illustrations: John Nyaga